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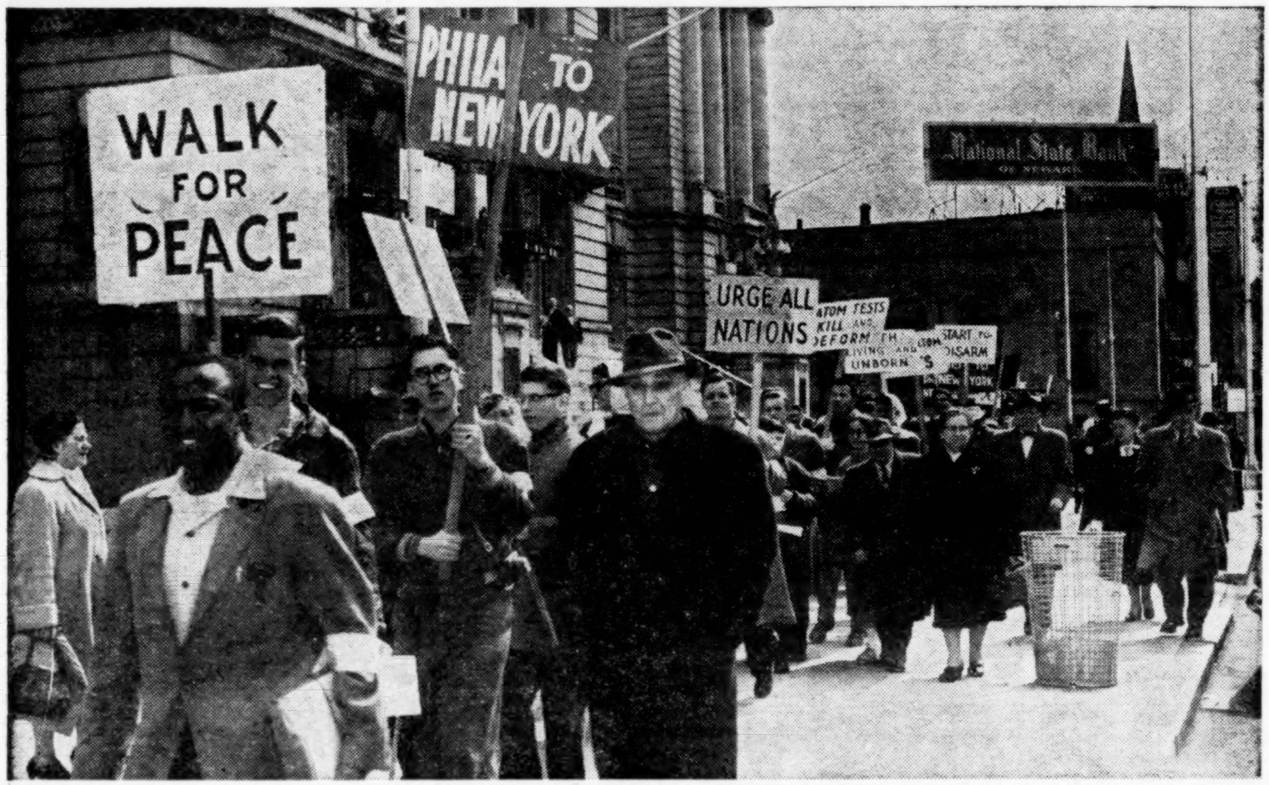
700 Peace Walkers petition all nations to ban bomb tests


WALK FOR PEACE
PHILA TO NEW YORK
URGE ALL NATIONS
ATOM TESTS KILL AND DEFORM BOTH LIVING AND UNBORN
START TO DISARM
National State Bank OF NEWARK

"NATION SHALL NOT LIFT UP SWORD AGAINST NATION, NEITHER SHALL THEY LEARN WAR ANY MORE"
A Peace Walk contingent passes Newark City Hall on its way to New York and the United Nations

By Elmer Bendiner

ALONG 42ND STREET, to the United Nations buildings on the East River, across Manhattan from Fifth Avenue, streamed the Walkers for Peace at noon on Good Friday which was also the eve of Passover. They carried signs which had to be read in sequence like a roadside advertising slogan: "ATOM TESTS KILL—AND DEFORM—BOTH LIVING AND UNBORN."

Boys and girls, wearing their school colors on their sweaters, carried placards with the names of their schools and with the added claim: "WALKING FROM NEW HAVEN TO THE UN" . . . "WALKING FROM PHILADELPHIA." Other signs asked: "MUST WE SUFFER TESTING FOR A WAR THAT CANNOT BE?"

There were women in their sixties and seventies who had walked from New Haven to New York, 75 miles or more, and from Philadelphia, 100 miles away. One blind man close to 60 joined the walk at Princeton, N.J., 50 miles from the UN. Young and old wore blue armbands of peace that were first worn at pacifists' prayer vigils in Washington.

PETITIONS FOR UN: Purpose of the Walk was to bring to the UN petitions to all nations to halt nuclear tests unconditionally and unilaterally and to abandon production of all nuclear weapons. The Walk was also meant to spur the people in the towns through which the demonstrators walked to press for peace. It was timed to rouse U.S. public opinion before the start of the springtime nuclear tests in the Pacific, and while the four-man ketch the Golden Rule, on a similar mission, is on the high seas bound for the test area.

The Peace Walk was sponsored by pacifist groups affiliated with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Society of Friends, Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy, Peacemakers, Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom. Preston Luitweiler, one of the Walk's organizers, said the idea started with five or six persons who

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THE BOYS IN WASHINGTON ARE ALL SHOOK UP

Policy & propaganda: The challenge to U. S.

By Kumar Goshal

ALL OVER THE WORLD last week, people walked for peace, demonstrated against nuclear bomb tests, met to discuss the effects of nuclear fall-out, petitioned the courts to ban the Bomb. But in Washington, the agencies of defense, state and propaganda combined in a feverish attempt to find reasons for going on with nuclear tests in the face of overwhelmingly favorable response to Soviet Premier Khrushchev's bid to the U.S. and Britain to follow the Soviet lead in banning the tests.

On April Fool's Day, Secy. of State Dulles said that, "governed by humane considerations," the U.S. must through continuous testing develop "smaller, distinctive, tactical, discriminating, cleaner weapons which can be used effectively for defensive purposes." Since he had already advocated placing these "tactical" weapons in the hands of "nations which are around the Sino-Soviet perimeter" (**Foreign Affairs**, Oct., '57), his statement indicated that the Administration has swallowed whole the Kissinger theory of "limited war."

BEHIND THE FACADE: The following day a jaunty President Eisenhower, bubbling with good golfing spirits "in the beautiful sunlight . . . this revolution in Washington weather," dismissed Moscow's offer as "a gimmick." He said it was not "to be taken seriously."

Behind the jauntiness, however, there apparently was some concern over the worldwide criticism of U.S. nuclear policy. On April 3 it was reported that the President had asked the Depts. of State and Defense and the Atomic Energy Commission to review U.S. disarmament policy within the next three weeks.

It was doubtful if the review would produce any constructive results. Dulles, Defense Secy. McElroy and ABC chairman Strauss appear determined to continue nuclear weapons tests. And both Dulles and Mr. Eisenhower have indicated their belief that Moscow has been able to snare favorable world public opinion only by "superior propaganda technique." In fact, Harrison Salisbury reported (N.Y. **Times**, 4/6), that Washington was in the throes of "a re-evaluation of U.S. propaganda policy" rather than a re-examination of the policy propagated.

TECHNIQUE AND CONTENT: The crucial issue is not the technique of the propaganda but the content. Successful propaganda is the kind that most effectively presents policies fitting the needs and aspirations of people. Soviet propaganda has been successful because it

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BEHIND THE CENSOR'S CURTAIN

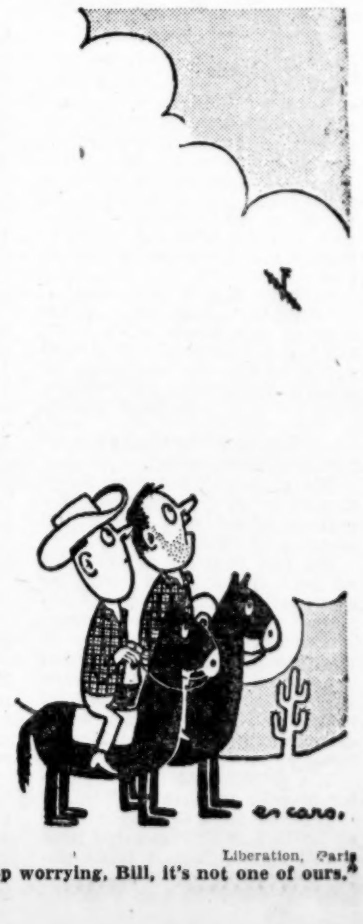
'Total war' is on in Cuba

FROM HAVANA ON APRIL 1 the N.Y. **Mirror's** Bill Slocum wrote: "When the trouble starts there is going to be some pretty lousy reporting out of this part of the world including some by me." Slocum itemized the difficulties: (1) "the effect bullets and dynamite have on any reporter's imagination"; (2) the language barrier; (3) "a censorship of monumental efficiency."

From Fidel Castro, heading the many-sided Cuban revolution, came this warning, to go into effect 12:01 a.m. April 5: "From this instant on, the country is in a state of total war against the tyranny of Batista." But most of the news out of Havana over the fateful Easter weekend sounded heavily muffled by the censor and pieced together from official hand-outs. The Batista communiques told of soldiers chasing rebels, isolating them, routing them. Similar stories hailing the defeat of the guerillas have been coming out of Cuba ever since December, 1956, when Fidel landed with 81 men in Oriente to challenge the dictatorship.

SCORES TO BE SETTLED: But a special dispatch to the N.Y. **Daily News**, sent by way of Miami, said that rebels had opened full-scale warfare on schedule,

(Continued on Page 4)



Liberation, Paris
"Stop worrying, Bill, it's not one of ours."

THE MAIL BAG

Judge Kaufman's promotion

ROSS, CALIF.

Following is the text of a letter I have sent to President Eisenhower. A similar letter has been sent to the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Dear President Eisenhower:

It has come to my attention that the name of U.S. District Judge Irving R. Kaufman has been presented for appointment to the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit.

It is unnecessary to recall that this was the jurist who sentenced to death Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on a charge of espionage.

The anti-communist witch hunt in this country has constituted one of the darkest chapters in our history and the judicial murder of these two people is its blackest page. Students of similar persecutions in our past will know how future generations will regard our contribution to intolerance. We look with contempt upon those of the Alien and Sedition Acts, the outrages committed against the Abolitionists, the Labor Union pioneers and the Women's Suffrage martyrs. We despise those who failed to protest the Palmer Raids of fairly recent date.

We may expect that our role in American history will receive no more favorable appraisal.

The contemplated appointment of Judge Kaufman to higher office will put the stamp of further official approval upon an act and a program which the rest of the world regards with scorn and hatred. It will dissipate the cleaner atmosphere engendered by recent Supreme Court decisions and will help restore that McCarthyism which was the foulest symptom of our regression from democracy and progress.

I sincerely urge that you refuse to elevate this man whose name is odious to millions throughout this nation and the the rest of the world.

Respectfully yours,
Vincent Hallinan

Educate!

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The vitality and sweeping power of Dr. DuBois' 90th birthday advice to Space Age Children in the March 10 GUARDIAN should win you a super-Pulitzer Prize.

Our GUARDIAN is doing a remarkable job in pointing out the decay and weakness of American life. But what can we do to change it? What is our positive program?

"Educate," said Jefferson.

"Educate," says Dr. DuBois through his whole life's work. Let him tell us in the GUARDIAN what changes he thinks we need in our schools and colleges.

Holland Roberts

Support for Sobell

MILWAUKEE, WISC.

We of the Milwaukee Sobell Committee offer a suggestion for getting added support for the freedom of Morton Sobell.

We feel that there has been no real concentrated effort by any particular group or organization to arouse the conscience of Europe. During the days of the Rosenberg case, millions throughout the world shouted against the death sentence. Isn't it possible that such a worldwide call could be made for Morton Sobell's freedom?

The GUARDIAN has its editor-in-exile in Great Britain. Is it possible that Cedric Belfrage and others in Britain could issue a call to the British trade union councils to have a mass petition campaign in line with our campaign for a million signatures? Couldn't we have such a campaign in France with Jean-Paul Sartre and others approaching the CGT? In Italy couldn't people like Pietro Nenni and others be asked to start a mass campaign for signatures? What about the Scandinavian countries and the State of Israel?

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BE A SPY; Correspondence course on wire tapping, bugging, telescopic sound pickup; recording techniques, microphotography, invisible & remote photography, telescopic & aerial photography. Lessons in surveillance, tailing, and use of equipment. Complete course $22.50. C. Carrier Co., 734 15th St., N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

Ad in **Popular Electronics**, Feb., 1958

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. C., San Francisco, Calif.

We feel that the GUARDIAN and the National Sobell Committee could involve many millions of people abroad. With a flood of signatures coming in from abroad, it will aid our campaign at home.

John Gilman, Chairman
Milwaukee Sobell Committee

Better pensions

SEATTLE, WASH.

May I add to Franklin Baxter's letter of March 17 issue? When writing your Congressman, ask him to urge that HR 7086 be brought out on the floor of the House. This is a very good bill designed to replace the present unsatisfactory Social Security Act. It provides for pensions of more than $100 a month at the age of 60 for all, thus doing away with the iniquitous state aid.

Margaret Welsh

The Lahtinen case

NEW YORK, N.Y.

On Feb. 13, the Immigration and Naturalization Service served an order to show cause in a deportation proceeding on August Wilhelm Lahtinen of New York City, a Finnish-American newspaper worker. The sole charge against Lahtinen is that he was a member of the Finnish Workers Fedn., which went out of existence in 1944. The Service maintains that Lahtinen's membership made him subject to deportation for 'affiliation' with the Communist Party.

Lahtinen, 56, entered the U.S. in 1914 and has lived here for the past 44 years. Friends and associates have organized a Lahtinen Defense Committee (P.O. Box 107, N.Y.C. 35). The scheme of the Service is to brand the Finnish Workers Federation a "communist front" and then threaten with deportation a lot of former members. Apparently, the Service deplores the absence of the Federation from the Attorney General's list of "subversive" organizations, and is trying to make the addition. If they succeed then the doors would be open to do the same with a lot of other defunct organizations and to threaten and intimidate a lot of other foreign born people.

Charles Dirba

The munitions makers

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Congress and the White House are frantically making plans and promises to check the rapid fall in business and the more rapid rise in unemployment.

President Eisenhower gives heavy priority to vastly increased spending for armaments. Year after year $40,000,000,000 were confiscated from the rest of us in taxes to subsidize the arms industry. This shift of wealth from the majority to a minority helped to bring on the present slump. Now the same poison is the medicine to cure this economic malady.

Obviously, in this crisis, as in the time of Hoover, relief goes first to the corporate barons and speculators. A livelihood for the unemployed is bypassed, as is an economic lift for the general population.

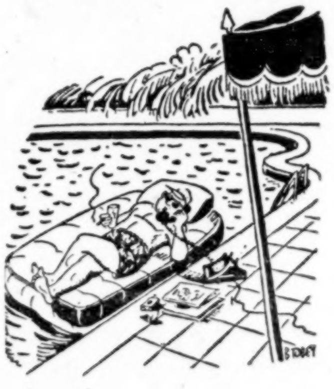
Incidentally, how can Mr. Dulles agree to disarmament when such profits are at stake? If the profit were taken out of arms manufacturing, wars would end tomorrow. **Jeff Patrick**

Second best

BELHAVEN, N.C.

Those who think we are going to overtake the Russians under the present corrupt regime of competitive capitalism are indulging in just so much wishful thinking. It has taken the Soviets just forty years, despite tremendous opposition, terrible setbacks and serious mistakes, to overtake centuries of capitalist industrial progress.

Only the stupid would have imagined that dog-eat-dog competition would work better than nationwide cooperation. In fact, historic trends require that the United States, to survive at all in the modern world, must progress from competitive capitalism through a stage of nationwide cooperative socialism to ultimate worldwide cooperative socialism. **Vernon Ward**



Wall Street Journal

"What seems to be the trouble, operator? I don't have all day, you know."

Requiescat

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Dear Dulles,
May your labors cease
And leave us
On the brink of peace.

L. G.

Tell him today

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I wonder how many readers of the GUARDIAN wrote Dr. Linus Pauling of the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif., and told him how much they appreciated his bold statement opposing continued nuclear tests?

The disorganized Left had better cooperate in areas of humanistic motivation or let the fascist military hierarchy take over in our country. I am a new subscriber to the GUARDIAN and appreciate the fact that it is the only composite left-of-capitalism publication I am aware of. **Norman Jensen**

Step inside

BERKELEY, CALIF.

Thanks for announcing my summaries of the Soviet press Mondays at 7:15 over FM station KPFA in Berkeley (94 on the dial). However, some GUARDIAN readers have phoned me to find out why they couldn't get the program. Patience, friends, KPFA is a relaxed kind of place, and if you will wait for ten or twenty minutes after the scheduled time for any program, it's sure to go on . . .

Friends in the forum movement will want to hear that the Berkeley Socialist Forum has really won an equal place in the marketplace of ideas. It would be well if more GUARDIAN people would take direct part in the work of the Forum, aside from attending its meetings. It would also be helpful if Communists, to whom the door is wide open, would step inside.

William Mandel

The Gallery

WESTCHESTER, N. Y.

To me, The Gallery is everything a good column should be. It is not only consistently interesting but is, perhaps, the one feature of your paper that could be syndicated throughout a certain segment of the nation's press. Here, the average reader who lacks the time to discover them for himself, finds choice news items with built-in editorial content. The editor is to be commended for his taste and/or judgment in selecting items that add up to a lively, informative column that sharply complements our newsreading.

P. Candeau

Howdy!

CHINA BAR, B.C.

Who will press the button?
Who will ring the bell?
Who will give the order
To blow us all to
Hello folks!

Just Brownl

Special Mail Bag on P. 12

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the progressive newsweekly

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REPORT TO READERS

Robeson at Ross

THE GREAT AND GRACIOUS Paul Robeson was guest of honor Saturday evening, March 29, at a gathering of GUARDIAN friends at the home of Vivian and Vincent Hallinan in Ross, Calif. It was an enormously successful evening from the point of view of esthetics and our exchequer and here is an on-the-spot report from our man Albert on the evening's goings-on:

"Personally, I put little stock in the supernatural; but the plain fact of the matter is that if rain pelted down at Paul Robeson's concert a few weeks ago in Oakland, it plummeted in solid sheets when he sang last Saturday night at the NATIONAL GUARDIAN affair at the Hallinans'. If unearthly powers happened to concoct this coincidence. they couldn't have put Paul's magnetism to a sterner test. Nor could Paul (and the GUARDIAN) have triumphed more impressively over the ordeal by water. The folk were packed so closely into the Hallinans' spacious abode that they overflowed from the living room (where Paul sang) not only into the hall but on through the dining room and kitchen, up the stairs and into the bedrooms and even the bathrooms on the second floor. The rain, I believe, was all that kept them off the roof.

"FOR ALL PRESENT, THE GUARDIAN AFFAIR had a special fillip, since they felt they were perhaps the first of those tens of millions of Paul's friends and admirers throughout the world to celebrate his 60th birthday. And Paul said there was nowhere he'd prefer to be singing at this time than at a GUARDIAN meeting. Especially appropriate was the fact that among the multitude were Clint and Virginia Jencks, whose historic Supreme Court victory means much to the cause of American democracy; John and Sylvia Powell, whose brave, uncompromising stand is of special moment in the fight for a free press; lawyer Barney Dreyfus. who never rested in the endeavor to have Morton Sobell transferred from Alcatraz; and, of course, Vin and Vivian Hallinan, staunch and large-hearted as ever, giving to this meaningful occasion the added meaning of its being held in their home.

"For one aspect of the meeting, this reporter perhaps owes an explanation to the GUARDIAN. As is not unusual, he was given the task (a privileged one, to be sure) of making the collection to help meet those many GUARDIAN obligations that subs, ads, etc., cannot possibly cover. But so jam-packed was the crowd that it was utterly impossible for "ushers" to move an inch for the purpose of collecting contributions in the traditional style. However, there's nothing exactly conformist about GUARDIAN partisans, is there? Their donations poured down like rain, without visible aid.

"A SLIGHT MISPRINT, Editors, appeared in the telegram you sent the meeting. As your message arrived, it referred in one place to Paul Robeson as a 'sighing profit.' Since there are few things we associate with Paul less than sighs and the profit system, we translated that to read 'singing prophet.' Were we right?"

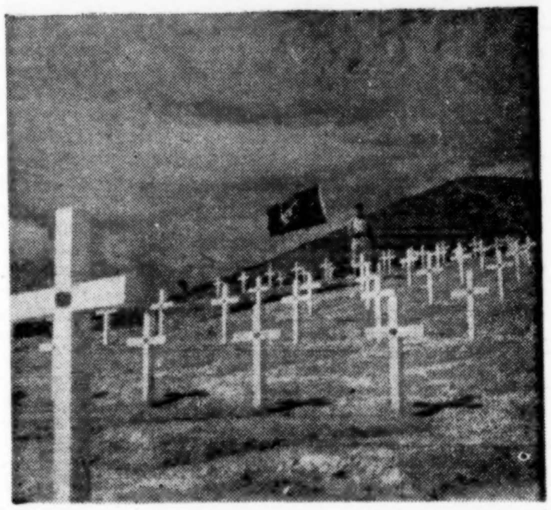
—Albert E. Kahn

●

Right as rain, Albert, and a promotion from the ranks for unscrambling Western Union's version of our true sentiments. All our thanks to you, to Vivian and Vin, to the water-winged flights of attending Angels, to the dozens of hard-working chefs, stamp-lickers, telephoners and nitty-gritniks who assured the evening's success, come hail or high water. And especially to Paul Robeson—may his three-score grow to four score and more. **—THE GUARDIAN**

FYKE FARMER REFUSES TO PAY HIS TAXES

Suit against Korea war goes to Supreme Court



Fyke Farmer, left, holds that a citizen can't be compelled to assist in a crime. Right, GI graves in Korea.

ON SUNDAY NIGHT, June 25, 1950, a group of advisers dined with Harry S. Truman at Blair House, the President's temporary residence in Washington. A year later, Louis Johnson, Secy. of Defense and attorney for the China Lobby, testified that the gentlemen heard a report on Korea from Secy. of State Acheson and decided, over dessert, to move the fleet from the Philippines "to that part of the world." Secy. Johnson turned to Admiral Sharman and said, "If you will excuse yourself, you get it started right away."

With the Navy well in hand, the group devoted its attention to the Air Force. Johnson pointed to "those little islands back of Formosa, owned by us," and suggested: "Mr. President, I should like, with your permission, to order the jets to that part of the world moved in on one of those islands that will land them."

Johnson told the Senate that, with the President's agreement, "I asked General Vandenberg to excuse himself, and get that started since it was 10 o'clock in the morning, comparatively, over there. That was it. We then adjourned."

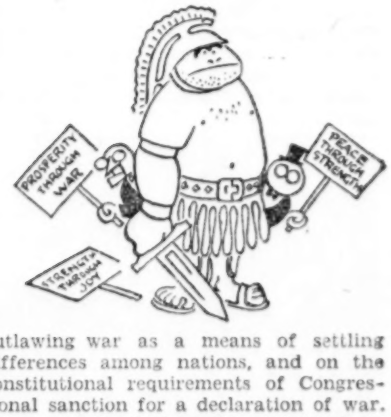
THE REVULSION: The group met again the next night for further discussion of the disposition of the Navy and Air Force. According to Johnson, "the President then made the decision to go into Korea with the two."

Thus began U.S. involvement in the three-year war in Korea—a "police action" in which almost 6,000,000 air, sea and ground forces saw action, 103,284 were wounded and 54,246 lost their lives.

Fyke Farmer, a Nashville, Tenn., attorney, shared the revulsion of the majority of Americans for this most unpopular of all U.S. wars. When tax time came around he sat down and wrote President Truman that he wouldn't pay because "I considered it a crime for our government to make war on the Korean people, bombing their cities and killing and maiming helpless people."

The government waited, possibly reckoning that Farmer would change his mind. But the stubborn lawyer from the Volunteer State held fast. The collector of Internal Revenue eventually put a lien on his home and, in 1953, tried to make his bank hand over the money to satisfy the tax. Farmer then filed suit to enjoin the Collector from collecting and the matter has been in the courts ever since.

THE LEGAL GROUNDS: Farmer based his case on his conscientious objection to war, on international treaties outlawing war as a means of settling differences among nations, and on the constitutional requirements of Congressional sanction for a declaration of war. All, he claimed, had been violated in Truman's actions in Korea.



The lawyer's effort to summon Truman and take a deposition from him in the U.S. District Court was defeated when Judge William E. Miller decided that the Court could not rule on the issues because it was not sufficiently informed to make competent judgment. To this Farmer answered that a judge is not entitled to throw out a case simply because he does not know all the facts before they have been brought out in court.

When Farmer cited the judgment of the International Military Tribunal which met at Nuremberg and tried 21 major Nazi leaders for unleashing World War II, Judge Miller retorted that this was irrelevant because the facts were entirely different. So are they different, retorted Farmer, in every murder case.

But the issues were hot ones, and the Judge refused to handle them. Farmer then appealed to the Sixth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati. On Feb. 13 the appeals court upheld Miller, declaring that the issues Farmer raised were not "judicially cognizable."

GRASP AT FREEDOM: But Farmer is not easily discouraged. He has announced an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court. He wants the Court to release the $6,750 tax money he has placed in escrow with the court clerk pending outcome of the suit. He believes his is not a one-man crusade and that others will join him by sending contributions for the appeal to his home at 300 Bellevue Drive, Nashvile 5, Tenn.

In 1956 Fyke Farmer said: "I want to be emancipated from war. I am grasping at freedom. Freedom for me will be freedom for all men in our country who feel as I do that we can get along all right with the rest of the world, if we do away with war. Somehow I don't see how any court in the land can rule that in a free country the government can compel a citizen to assist it in the commission of a crime."

The decision on that issue is now up to the highest court in the land.

UPHAUS CONTEMPT CONVICTION WINS A REVIEW

Supreme Court throws out the Matles case

THE SUPREME COURT on April 7 took two actions which affected civil liberties cases of long-standing:

- It threw out the denaturalization and contempt case of James Matles, organization director of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union.
- It agreed to review the contempt conviction of Willard Uphaus.

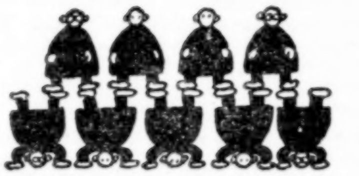
For six years the government has been trying to take away Matles' citizenship. One of the charges against him was that he was a Communist in this country in 1925, four years before he came here from Rumania at the age of 19 in 1929.

When denaturalization proceedings were begun in 1956, Matles refused to obey a court order to be sworn for examination before trial by a U.S. attorney. He was held in contempt of court and an appeal from that decision started on its way to the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the naturalization trial was held and Matles ordered denaturalized on the testimony of three paid government witnesses.

The case was reopened under the Supreme Court's 1957 Jencks decision, since the defense had been denied access to FBI reports of the witnesses' original testimony, and final decision was reserved. However, in initiating the original denaturalization proceedings, the government failed to file a required affidavit of good cause. This point was raised by his counsel—Donner, Kinoy & Perlin of New York—in contesting the earlier contempt conviction. Last week the Supreme Court, in a per curiam decision not stating its reasons, reversed the contempt conviction and ordered the denaturalization complaint withdrawn.

On the "good cause" basis the Court also dismissed denaturalization proceedings against David and Freeda Diamond of California and against gambler Frank Costello.

The Uphaus case grew out of the refusal of Uphaus to turn over to the Attorney General of New Hampshire lists of guests at the World Fellowship center. The refusal was on the ground of conscience and freedom of assembly.



THERE WAS A CONTRAST: Even as the first April decision day was a good one for judicial interpretation of the constitutional rights and immunities of citizens, the last one in March was a poor one.

That day the court revealed deep-going divisions in a series of rulings which (1) upheld the government's power to strip native-born Americans of their citizenship, (2) empowered federal judges to punish for contempt without a jury trial and without specific limitations as to length of sentence, and (3) denied use of the Fifth Amendment to witnesses who testify voluntarily.

In three citizenship cases, a majority consisting of Justices Frankfurter, Harlan, Burton, Clark, Brennan and Whittaker supported the view that Congress could expatriate a citizen "to implement its broad powers in such areas as foreign policy and war." They agreed "that foreign policy might be advanced by expatriating persons whose acts embarrass this country's foreign relations."

Justice William O. Douglas called the majority view "perhaps the most important constitutional pronouncement of this century."

WARREN IN MINORITY: The key expatriation case involved Clemente Martinez Perez, born in Texas of Mexican ancestry. Because Perez voted in a Mexican election in 1946, the Court voided his citizenship. Chief Justice Earl Warren, in a minority opinion in which Justices Black and Douglas concurred, contended that "the government is without power to take away citizenship from a native-born or lawfully naturalized American." The only constitutional way in which an American may lose his citizenship, he said, is by voluntarily renouncing it or by committing an act which amounts to abandonment or transfer, such as becoming a citizen of another country.

Justice Whittaker, while agreeing with the majority thesis subordinating citizenship to Congressional foreign policy, voted with the minority on the ground that a vote in a foreign election is not likely to injure U.S. foreign relations.

In two other cases, court majorities ruled that citizenship could not be taken away under the Nationality Act of 1940 because of desertion from the U.S. armed forces or for service under duress in the armed forces of a foreign power. In one of the prevailing opinions Chief Justice Warren described the loss of citizenship as a punishment "more primitive than torture" because it involves "the total destruction of the individual's status in organized society."

SMITH ACT VICTIMS: In the case of Communist Party leaders Gilbert Green and Henry Winston, the court refused to void or limit three-year sentences for contempt of court arising from the first Smith Act trial. Because Green and Winston failed to surrender in 1951 to begin five-year sentences under the act, they were later tried by a judge, convicted and sentenced to three additional years.

John J. Abt, attorney for the defendants, argued that any sentence of more than one year meant that the action punished was "a capital or otherwise infamous crime" requiring, under the Fifth Amendment, a grand jury indictment specifying charges.

Justice John Marshall Harlan ruled for the majority that for 150 years contempt has not been subject to the constitutional limits imposed on criminal trials. He was joined by Justices Frankfurter, Burton, Clark and Whittaker.

Justice Black, for the minority, assailed this idea. He pointed out that authority to administer criminal contempt "has swollen, at the hands of not unwilling judges, until it has become a drastic and pervasive mode of administering criminal justice usurping our regular constitutional methods."

In the case of Mrs. Stefana Brown of Detroit, the Court upheld a contempt citation based on the defendant's refusal to answer certain questions during a denaturalization trial. The majority ruled that Mrs. Brown waived her right to use the Fifth Amendment, protecting herself against possible self-incrimination, because she took the stand voluntarily.

Total war in Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

had seized an airfield near Moa and captured a number of planes. The report said that mortars, bazookas and light artillery had been airdropped to the rebels at the captured airfield. Railway workers had apparently gone on strike in Camaguey in central Cuba, shutting off all rail transportation to the interior.

Daily News correspondents Joseph Martin and Phil Santora, back from a Cuban tour, forecast bloody revolution by an outraged people. They said Cubans wanted the world to understand "for instance, that when a young girl is raped by a police chief while his grinning cops hold back the heart-broken father, the day of reckoning can include no mercy."

They added: "Murder, rape, corruption in low and high places, the torture methods employed by police, the systematic plundering of a rich country, the reduction to enslavement of what was once a gay, happy people—these are merely a few of the scores Cubans must settle."

Martin and Santora warned readers not only of Batista's official censorship but that "imposed by newsmen, both domestic and foreign, who have sold out to the Batista government."

WORKERS DECISIVE: Batista's hope was to keep the revolt on a military level, to draw the rebels out of the hills into a fixed battle where they could be bombed, strafed and shelled by the vastly superior forces of the government. Batista's greatest fear was a successful general strike which the rebels were waiting to play as their trump.

Cuba's workers will decide the fate of the revolution and what comes after it. Castro already has the allegiance of the middle class and the intellectuals. His movement grew out of a student revolt originally. The N.Y. **Times'** Homer Bigart toured the waterfront districts of Santiago de Cuba and reported: "It is in these districts, largely Negro, that Senor Castro has needed much missionary work to convince the laborers that his revolt is not solely a middle-class affair. Whether he has the support of these people is by no means certain."

To the waterfront workers of Santiago and elsewhere in Cuba the manifesto of the outlawed Partido Socialista Popular (Communist) last March 13 may have been significant. Though Fidelistas quickly repudiated any Communist support, the PSP call to join the revolution was not conditioned on Fidel's acceptance. In its hey-day the PSP was influential and perhaps still is. Its manifesto considerably broadens the revolt's aims, declaring that the dictatorship is not Cuba's only evil. It calls for a trade union movement free of government control, for wage raises, land reform, lower prices and a better deal from the utility companies.

U.S. SUPPORT: Santiago is a key city. Its 250,000 people are known to be solidly anti-Batista. Cuba's most successful strikes in recent years have spread from there. It is heavily garrisoned with Batista's troops manning machine-gun nests on the roofs of sand-bagged buildings. A rebel military assault would be risky but a strike from within could bring the city down. Brig. Gen. Albert Del Rio Chaviano has threatened "extreme repression" if street fighting breaks out.

Batista has long counted on close U.S. support. At any time the U.S. could have forced Batista out by threatening to alter Cuba's sugar quota, withdrawing its military mission (which recently scandalized Cubans by offering a testimonial dinner to a Cuban general of bloody reputation), or by shutting off the flow of arms and dollars to Havana. U.S. companies have an $800,000,000 investment in Cuba and last week the **Wall Street Journal** reported that many U.S. businessmen were pro-Batista. One said: "You can do business with Batista." The paper found "a hot dislike for U.S. policies" among Cubans, however.

Washington recently held up a shipment of rifles, then announced a general embargo. Arms had been shipped to Batista at a brisk rate. As soon as the embargo was announced, Generalissimo Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic offered Batista the weapons he needed. More were reported coming from Nicaragua. The U.S. has been allowing a free flow of arms to both countries, so that it looked like a re-routing of the shipments instead of an embargo.

PILOTS STRIKE: Still, Washington's move seemed a concession. It came after Cubans in Miami, New York, Chicago and elsewhere went on a five-day hunger strike. In the Gulf of Mexico a boatload of 35 Cubans were rammed by a Coast Guard cutter and brought ashore with their cargo of weapons. They reportedly had been betrayed by an agent in their midst. The wave of hunger strikes around the country was credited with winning fairer treatment for the captured rebels at the hands of Federal District Court in Brownsville, Tex. Last week bail was reduced from an original $7,500 each for the leaders to $1,500. Bail for others in the crew was set at $500 each. Trial on charges of violating U.S. neutrality statutes was set for May 19. The defense will charge that the arrest took place on the high seas beyond U.S. jurisdiction.

Other Cubans found their own way to join the fight. Fifteen pilots of the Cuban Airlines who had been drafted into the Air Force, sought sanctuary in Miami, saying they would not transport weapons to be used against their countrymen. In Havana six more pilots were reported refusing similar duty though they faced charges of desertion.

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) charged that the State Dept. had ignored his requests for information concerning two "assassins" allegedly sent by Batista to the U.S. to kill rebel leaders in New York or Miami. Batista's agents are known to be in both cities but it has been supposed by some that they were scouting around for a lush hide-away for their President should he have to leave Havana abruptly.

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But not before it's down

And now, in closing, a final thought on the "Iron Curtain": May it rust in peace.

—Hal Bloch in the bulletin of the Overseas Press Club.

WE HAVE BEEN ON A HUNGER STRIKE
for
24
hrs

HUNGER STRIKERS MAKE THE V FOR VICTORY SIGN
New York sympathizers of Fidel Castro mark the 24th hour of their fast

THIRD PARTIES DECIMATED

Tories sweep all Canada; Liberals get 49 of 265 seats

By Dan Daniels
Special to the Guardian

MONTREAL

NEVER IN CANADA'S history as an independent country was there anything like the stunning victory of the Tories in the national elections on March 31.

The Progressive Conservatives, after a reign of only ten months as a minority government, were returned to Commons with more seats than any previous ruling party. They were elected in 208 constituencies, leaving the opposition with an impotent group of 57 in a total of 265 seats, the Liberals holding only 49.

Third party hopes were shattered. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was cut down from 25 seats to an insignificant eight. The slightly rightist Social Credit, previously holding 19 seats, was wiped out completely. Both parties were born during the depression.

In Quebec the upset was even more astonishing. It was the first major Tory victory since 1887. As recently as 1940 they had no representation at all; in the last election they got only nine seats. This time they won 50 of the province's 75 seats. Only Montreal held out, just as it has always done against the right wing Duplessis Union National provincial regime.

NEW ATTITUDES: The CCF received 67,736 votes, 10% of the total, a drop of 2% from the last time. Communists and independent socialists fared badly. Socialist candidates running against each other didn't help. In one field, the Communists received enough votes to take away a near victory from a former M.P. of the CCF. M.J. Coldwell, leader of the CCF, was defeated for the first time since 1935 and sadly announced his retirement.

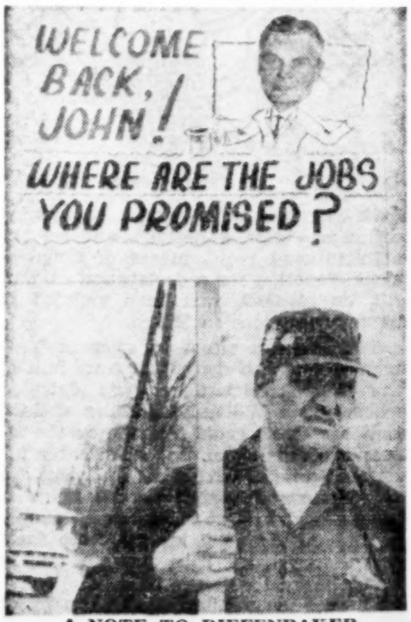
It was expected that the Tories would win, but few people including Conservatives themselves foresaw such an overpowering sweep, especially in view of the last elections. At that time many Canadians voted Conservative to provide an effective opposition to the long-entrenched Liberals. This wasn't so this time.

The Tory victory can be attributed to the following attitudes:

- "Give 'em a chance". Conservatives made much of the fact that they were a minority government and therefore unable to carry out their full program. The Liberals had been in power for 25 years.
- "Fulfillment of promises." The Tories, during the few months they held Ottawa, carried out their pledges to increase old age pensions and to reduce taxes.
- "Talking back to the Americans." Anti-U.S. sentiment was a big factor in the elections, much more so than last year. A campaign issue was made of the fact that a Canadian auto company was not allowed by its "parent" U.S. company to fulfill an order for 1,000 cars for China—in a time of mass unemployment. The Tories expressed indignation and promised an investigation.
- Active support of the Duplessis provincial Union National in Quebec. For the first time in many years this powerful machine backed the Conservatives and it paid off.

SMALL CHOICE: While unemployment and peace were main election issues, there was little to choose between the two big parties. Both had programs to deal with unemployment and both took a positive stand on stopping H-bomb tests. A last-minute call by Liberal leader Lester Pearson for a halt to bomb tests and a second look at the question of missile bases in Europe came a little too late.

Despite the overwhelming results, progressives take some hope from the fact that the nationwide tally gave the Tories only 54%, far less than the proportionate seats held. The Montreal Star recognized this when it commented that Tory leader Diefenbaker's "support in the House of Commons is far greater than his support in the country as a whole, [a fact of which] he must constantly remind himself."


WELCOME BACK, JOHN!
WHERE ARE THE JOBS YOU PROMISED?

A NOTE TO DIEFENBAKER
A Canadian greets his Prime Minister

NEW DELHI MEETING REFLECTS NEW BALANCE OF FORCES

Peace Council plans world rally for July

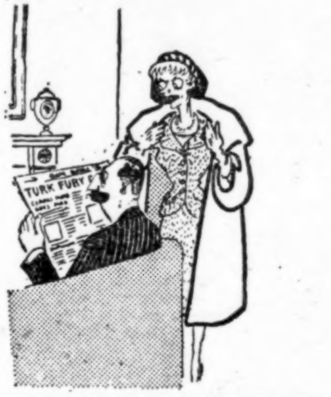
By Gordon Schaffer
Special to the Guardian

NEW DELHI

THE BROAD STREETS of this city with their spacious government buildings still bear the names of dead Viceroys who ruled India in the name of Imperialist Britain. The statue of King George V still looks out on the former Viceregal Palace.

There are no doubt some who think that nothing has changed and yet everything has changed. Here we have seen in action the new forces that are inspiring all Asia. The meeting of the Bureau of the World Council of Peace heard reports of how Asia, which created at Bandung a new conception of international cooperation, is inspiring the rest of the world. The Afro-Asian conference held at Cairo in January has had an effect throughout these two continents far greater than anything I had imagined possible from my observation point in London.

As I talked to the men and women who came from these continents, I saw more clearly the picture of Western politicians and military leaders who are trying to build alliances in these lands. When they call conferences of SEATO or the Baghdad Pact, they sit with men who no more represent the new spirit of Asia and Africa than the statue of George V.



Lancaster in London Daily Express
"Ah! So Dulles has arrived in Ankara!"

FOR BOMB-FREE ZONES: Everywhere the people are in revolt against the military alliances. We heard how in Thailand, one of the few countries on which SEATO still hopes to rely, thousands have been demonstrating against military bases. Prof. Hirano of Japan told me how the Polish plan for a nuclear-free zone in Europe was creating a similar demand in Asia.

The U.S. is building missile bases in South Korea and is deploying nuclear weapons in Formosa. The people are demanding a nuclear-free zone to include Japan, Korea, Okinawa and Formosa.

The hint by Mr. Dulles that his government might recognize the rebels in Indonesia has set off a furor in all Asia and the Bureau of the World Peace Council warned in a special resolution of the danger to peace such an action would involve.

One of the facts of life in the modern world is that the SEATO Pact is in tatters. Equally, the reports from the Middle East showed that no oligarchy can for long retain power if it allies itself with the U.S. against the overwhelming tide of feeling for national independence. From Africa came news of the decision of the government of Ghana to call a conference of all independent African governments.

NEW LINE-UP: In these areas, the clash between communism and anti-communism, which dominates Washington, has no impact at all. What is of far-reaching importance is the alliance being forged between these countries and the lands building socialism on the basis of co-existence.

This new line-up of world forces became inevitable the moment the U.S. exploded a hydrogen bomb and made clear its intention to impose an H-bomb alliance on its reluctant allies. People do not agree to commit suicide for a cause in which they do not believe.

But it is not only the Baghdad and SEATO Pacts that are crumbling. Reports from European members of the Bureau showed how the revolt against nuclear arms and missile bases is being joined by all sections of the people. Everywhere I was asked for details of the various new movements that have sprung up in Britain. Wilhelm Elfes of W. Germany told of similar developments in his country. We heard how the Scandinavian member countries of NATO, Denmark and Norway, are refusing to accept the missile bases.

WORLD CONGRESS: There were reports of a gathering revolt in Latin America against the attempt to impose U.S. economic and military agreements there. Alfredo Verela of Argentina said: "In all Latin America, the spirit of Bandung is ripening." He told how the new government of his country, which takes power May 1, has declared in favor of friendship with every nation on earth and how not only in Argentina but in other Latin American countries the governments are looking for trade with the socialist countries to help solve their serious economic problems.

It is these forces which the World Peace Council seeks to mobilize at the Congress of Disarmament and World Cooperation which it has called at Stockholm in July. The Bureau called for a campaign in every country to send delegates to Stockholm, to collect funds for their expenses and to ensure that a summit meeting is not only held but becomes the first step to peace.

Tribune des Nations, Paris

AN INTERVIEW WITH ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS

Cyprus issue: Self-determination

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

ATHENS

The Cyprus freedom fight has become something of a national epic in Greece today: that much is evident even to the foreign traveler on a short stay. The government itself, as it prepares another safe-and-stable election with a watertight electoral law to take care of possible "surprises," gives full support to the Cyprus fight, apparently unaware or unperturbed by the fact that few words are as contagious as the word freedom. Cyprus is the only topic in Greece today where that word can be talked about with impunity. Cyprus comes first in all political conversations, whether with a white collar worker or a government official; and whoever says Cyprus means Makarios.

ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS is easier to meet than most other political figures-in-the-headlines today. In present-day Athens, where extreme poverty rubs shoulders with conspicuous wealth, Makarios leads a very simple life. He lives in an Athens hotel, in the center of town. His entire staff consists of one man, his secretary.

The group of French journalists with whom this correspondent made a short stopover in Greece was pressed for time. Makarios received us early on a Sunday morning in the lobby of his hotel.

For an hour he sat among us listening carefully to our questions—a slight figure of medium height, in a black robe and golden chain, with a greying beard and keen, expressive eyes.

The conversation was trilingual. The questions asked in French were translated into Greek by an Athens journalist. Makarios then replied in English. His first words set the tone. Outspokenness can be a policy. It can be a good policy. It certainly marked Makarios' answers from the start as he replied to our first general questions.

"THE SITUATION in Cyprus is simple. It is British policy to represent it as complicated in the extreme, and to claim a solution is difficult to find.

"When will I return to Cyprus? Any time is a good time for me to return. I don't know British plans. I believe it was a wrong move on the part of the British to exile me to the Seychell Islands. It is another mistake to want to prevent me from returning to Cyprus now. I am afraid British policy continues to move in the wrong direction.

"U.S. policy on Cyprus? The U.S. government is not taking a positive but a neutral position on the issue. The Cyprus question is a question of principle. I believe that a great power like the U.S. cannot afford to remain neutral on a question of principle. Some time ago the U.S. suggested a three-way negotiation to reach a settlement. There can be no three-way negotiation for us, only a two-way one. This is not an issue between Great Britain, Greece and Turkey. It is between Great Britain and Cyprus!"

Some 400,000 Greeks and almost 100,000 Turks—the former largely businessmen and artisans, the latter mostly peasants working 18% of the island's soil—have long lived harmoniously together on Cyprus, almost everywhere in mixed communities.

"EVEN DURING the last Greco-Turkish war," recalled Makarios, "friendly relations between the two elements of the island remained undisturbed. I am sorry to say it is British policy that has destroyed these good relations."

Makarios spoke very calmly and with a smile. Perhaps the most impressive thing about him was less the natural dignity of his bearing than the undercurrent of passionate conviction in his voice. His smile expressed the quiet assurance of a man who knows that in this mid-century of national liberation movements, his is a winning cause.

The conversation turned to the future of Cyprus. Did that future spell partition?

"Partition is not a solution. How would we go about it? There is no place in Cyprus where the Turks are in the majority. Partition would necessitate the forced uprooting and resettlement of large parts of the population. There are minority groups in many countries throughout the world. Has any one ever suggested slicing those countries up into small separate parts? I don't know whether the British are seriously thinking of such a solution, or whether it is just bluff. It would be no solution, just a permanent cause of friction."

Might it be a Greco-Turkish co-dominion?

"That is no solution. Until four years ago, the Turkish government was not even interested in the Cyprus question . . ."

A union of Cyprus with Greece?

"The question is not one of union with Greece. The question is self-determination. We want the people of Cyprus to have the right to determine their own political future."

IF CYPRUS is given the right of self-determination, someone asked, what guarantee does the West have for the safety of its military bases on Cyprus?

"I am not a military expert," said Makarios. "And I don't know just exactly what the strategic importance of these bases may be. The British sometimes say their only interest in Cyprus is military; at other times, they say it has nothing whatever to do with strategic reasons.

"However this may be, of what value are strategic bases in a country where they are not backed by the friendly feelings of the local population? Right now, the people of Cyprus don't want bases in defense of a freedom . . . elsewhere in the world of which they themselves are deprived."

British soldiers move against Turkish students demonstrating against British rule in Cyprus.

VOLUNTEER WORK BRIGADES

Shovel, carry, tamp -- China digs the future

By Constance Mercer
Special to the Guardian

WITH SHOVELS AND BASKETS, VILLAGE WOMEN NEAR PEKING MOVE THE EARTH
Hand labor transforms 165,000 acres of land in China every day

PEKING

THE CALL WAS CIRCULATED by the union on Monday. Who wanted to volunteer for "physical labor" tomorrow? "The work will be strenuous. Do not come unless you are fit and can take it," the sign-up sheet warned. I was among the 30 volunteers at the publishing firm where I work.

Early in the morning, carrying our lunches and wearing our oldest and warmest padded clothes, we joined hundreds of other office workers. Forty to a truck, we rode about an hour and clambered off in a frozen field belonging to the huge state farm which supplies the city with a third of its milk.

Arming ourselves with picks, shovels and baskets, we were led to where an irrigation ditch was to be built. Our job was to dig, and to pile the earth to form a 7-foot high dyke on one side of the channel.

PRIDE IN WORK: I was still somewhat in condition from last summer's garden, but for some this was the first time behind a shovel. Since Confucius, physical exercise had been frowned upon for the Chinese intellectual. But the women (about half the group) were eager, and eight of them began to lift and drop the heavy stone weight used to tamp the earth. The young head of the union sports committee came to their assistance: he stood beside them and called out the count for their rhythm, but apparently didn't realize that he ought to lift a hand. But he learned.

Most of my co-workers plunged in, like my young slightly-built friend, the daughter of one of Shanghai's richest families. Equipped with a small one-man basket for carrying earth, she trudged back and forth all day without slackening. The intellectuals in my group exhibited a real pride in their "manual labor" for it symbolized "proving themselves" able to shake loose from the effects of having been born in the pampered class.

THE PACE-SETTERS: The stars of the day were our colleagues who do the maintenance jobs around the office. Their origin as workers or peasants showed in the way they went to work. The stocky young man who sweeps the floors, and the plump smiling teenager with long braids who tends the stoves and serves in the dining hall, were everywhere at once. They saw to it that a sufficient supply of earth was brought to all places along the dyke, that the crews tamped it down hard enough, and that nobody wasted time **carrying** it from where it could be **shovelled.**

In mid-afternoon, when we were all sagging a bit, the two of them gave a loud yell and began running on the double with the pole and basket they were carrying. That rallied everybody. Not only did our sweeper and kitchen helper know how to work, but I think they understood more deeply just what this ditch was going to mean in terms of a better rice crop from the farm.

Coming from the U.S., where one calls in a bulldozer to smooth out a few bumps in the backyard, I did not need long beneath a carrying-pole to develop an admiration for the absolute wonders China is able to create through this spade-and-carrying-pole technology. At the moment it is constructing water conservation projects in every one of China's nearly 2,000 counties: ditches for irrigating dry fields in the three Asian seasons which have virtually no rain, drainage to turn waterlogged flats into productive acres, and everywhere, reservoirs to catch damaging floodwaters and save them for the crops.

DIG, DIG, DIG: Our results that day showed what a laborious task all this digging is. The white-collar crew of 40 putting in a 7½-hour day managed to build up a 30-foot section of the dyke less than eight inches. An experienced laborer can move slightly more than one cubic yard of earth a day, including digging, carrying and tamping. On a large reservoir project near Peking, the carriers are calculated to walk about 20 miles in their to-and-fro pattern during an 8-hour workday.

The center of Peking digging activity now is at the site of a reservoir near the famous tombs of the Ming dynasty emperors. When it is completed in June, a three-mile-wide man-made lake will protect 32,000 acres of land from flood and will irrigate up to 50,000 acres of farmland and market gardens. The project was originally part of the third five-year plan (1962-67) but the farmers in the area offered to go ahead on their own and called for volunteers. The result was a tremendous demonstration of city-country solidarity. Some 40,000 people—all running—are now moving the earth.

With digging going on at this pace all over the country, an average of 165,000 acres of land are being brought under irrigation every day. Between October and January 1, about 20,000,000 acres had been irrigated, 1,250,000 low-lying acres had been drained, and erosion control had been carried out over an area of 17,000 square miles. Taking part in all of this have been about 100,000,000 people, or a fifth of the total rural population. It is estimated that in the four months prior to January 1, the Chinese people had accomplished half as much as all the irrigation work done in the 4,000 years that preceded their liberation in 1949.

Ay-yo-ha-a-y ho. Thump! This is the way we build the ditches that water the fields that feed 600,000,000!

U.S. HANGS ONTO ITS NAVAL BASE

First West Indies Federation legislature faces unhappy future

THE ENTHUSIASM which greeted the formation of the West Indies Federation early this year had cooled considerably by the time the people went to the polls on March 25 to elect the federation's first legislature.

Hopes for financial aid from Britain had not materialized, leaving the islands' economy deteriorated, although British and American investors in oil, asphalt and bauxite had prospered. The primarily agricultural smaller islands were hardest hit. Drought-stricken Barbados expected a 20% drop in this year's crop now in harvest. Grenada's nutmeg production dropped by more than 60%.

The relatively more prosperous islands of Jamaica and Trinidad—with the largest share of population in the federation—were worried by the possibility of an influx of unemployed from the smaller islands. Already scheduled to contribute the major part of the federal treasury, they were also afraid the federation's economic difficulties would force increased taxation upon them. They have been opposing free federation-wide immigration and a federal customs union.

U.S. RETAINS BASE: Apparently under U.S. pressure, some West Indies leaders modified their demand for the return of the American Chaguaramas naval base in Trinidad, which all islanders wanted for their capital. A commission set up last year to study the islanders' demand submitted its report in February, but its findings have not been made public. The naval base has awarded a $250,000 contract for the installation of new equipment, indicating that the U.S. plans to hold Chaguaramas.

Economic distress, unresolved conflict between Jamaica-Trinidad and the other islands, and failure to budge the U.S. from the choicest site for the capital created political problems for the three top leaders who had joined their parties to form the Federal Labor Party (popularly known as Feds), and gave a political has-been a chance for a come-back.

UNHAPPY OUTLOOK: By the time of federal election day, Jamaica's Norman Manley and Trinidad's Eric Williams had decided not to run for office, preferring to devote their full time to repairing local political fences. This left Barbados' Grantley Adams the only one of the Feds' triumvirate standing for office. The flamboyant former leader Alexander Bustamente took the opportunity for a strong political come-back, but did not feel strong enough to run for office either.

HAND LABOR IN JAMAICA
Foreign investors get the profit

The turnout at the polls was disappointing. The Feds, of which Norman Manley is the titular head, won 23 of the 45 seats in the federal legislature, assuring Grantley Adams the post of Prime Minister; Bustamente's Dems won 21; the Barbados National party won only one seat. Princess Margaret will open the legislature on April 22. The federation's first legislature faced a far from happy outlook.

TWO MEETINGS ON WEST COAST

Dr. DuBois speaks in L. A. April 18

CALIFORNIANS presented Dr. W.E.B. DuBois in two addresses this month. On Sunday, April 13, the noted historian and founder of the Pan African Congress movement, spoke in San Francisco on "Present Conditions in Africa." The meeting, sponsored by the local branch of the NAACP, was held at the Third Baptist Church, 1300 McAllister St.

On Friday, April 18, at 8 p.m., Dr. DuBois will speak at the First Unitarian Church in Los Angeles, 2936 W. 8 St. His topic will be "The History of the Last Forty Years." Admission is $1 and proceeds will go to the benefit tax fund of the church.

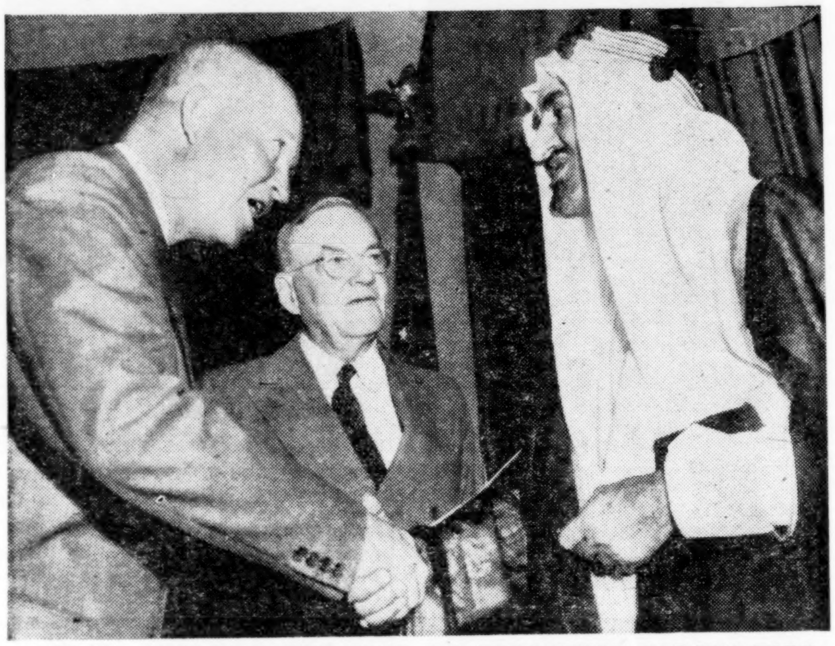
OVATION AT HOWARD: The California appearances follow Dr. DuBois' appearance as guest speaker at a special convocation held by the social science faculties of Howard U. in Washington, D.C., on March 31. The audience filled the university chapel to overflowing and stood in the lobby and on the steps approaching the hall. Dr. DuBois was given a standing ovation.

Earlier the same day Dr. Mordecai Johnson, university president, and Mrs. Johnson, were hosts to a distinguished group of Washingtonians at a reception for Dr. and Mrs. DuBois. Among those present were representatives of the Embassy of the one-year-old African government of Ghana.

THE DEATH BLOW TO THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

The meaning of the shift in Saudi Arabia

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent



THE FLY CAME INTO THE PARLOR, BUT THE SPIDER'S WEB WAS TORN
In Washington last year: Ike and Foster and Crown Prince Faisal

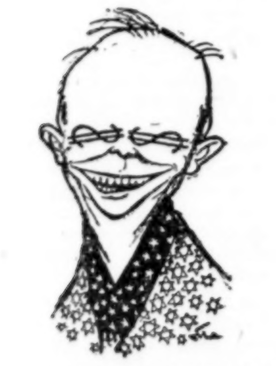
PARIS

KING SAUD'S royal decree last month transferring full legislative and executive powers to his elder brother and heir apparent, Crown Prince Emir Faisal, dealt the death blow to the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Fourteen months ago Saud was received in Washington with unprecedented honors; thereafter he became, in Secy. Dulles' words, "the anchor" of American policy in the Middle East. At the time, Saud's endorsement of the Doctrine was cautious in the extreme, having more effect on the U.S. Senate than on the Arab world. But the overthrow of the newly-elected democratic government of Jordan soon after—in which the presence of Saudi troops and Saudi money played a decisive role—made Saud, in the eyes of the Arab masses, "Washington's No. 1 Arab agent." From that moment his prestige began to decline precipitously, despite the fact that no official attacks on the King came from Syria or Egypt, and even mild criticism was prohibited until recently in the Egyptian press.

Saud's virtual abdication now—following charges of complicity in a plot to kill Egypt's President Nasser—is certainly a victory for Nasser whose reputation is thereby enhanced. But more importantly it reveals the strength of anti-imperialist public opinion in the Arab world, a public opinion which is now beginning to make itself felt even in such a ruthless despotism as Saudi Arabia.

DISCONTENT NOT NEW: Today's tide of popular discontent in Saudi Arabia did not arise overnight. Its first significant expression was the great 21-day strike at the Aramco oil fields in 1953. Three years later Saud felt compelled to revive the fanatically religious tribal warrior force, the Ikhwan, to fight revolutionary ferment then growing in the army, among the oil workers, and in the small middle class. The frenzied welcome given Nasser by thousands of Saudis, when he visited the country shortly after, underlined the nationalist appeal.



From Arab Trade Union Fed. Pamphlet

A year ago, when Saud returned from Washington, new unrest in the oil fields, spreading to Riyadh and Djidda, provoked him to impose martial law. This, however, did not halt open expression of discontent in the coffee houses of the towns or even among the nomad tribes. The "opposition" embraced oil workers; most of the educated middle class; many of the Palestinians, Syrians and Egyptians who hold key posts in the civil service, town administrations, public utilities, and construction works; army officers trained by the Egyptians; and even some of the royal princes (altogether there are some 840).

Growing discontent fed on ruinous inflation. Some reports claim the country is going bankrupt—world banks some weeks ago ceased honoring Saudi letters of credit. But if construction of Riyadh's new hospital has been halted "for lack of funds," building of lavish palaces and royal squandering of oil revenues has continued.

LOGICAL CHOICE: In this situation, Nasser's charge that Saud had tried to sabotage the formation of the United Arab Republic was all that was needed to set off the palace revolution. The Crown Prince, although his extravagance has been scarcely less than that of other members of the royal family, was the logical patron for opposition forces. His chief assets from this point of view are his outspoken nationalism, his general support for positive neutrality, his concepts of government, which are somewhat less antediluvian than those of the King.

Elementary democratic rights, including freedom of association; neutrality in foreign policy; constitutional government; an end to royal extravagance and use of oil revenues for economic development—these are the chief opposition demands. Faisal is reported planning sweeping — if elementary — reforms, including introduction of annual budgets, audited accounts, strict treasury control, establishment of a development board to use oil revenues constructively, and a departmental and cabinet system of government. He is on record also as demanding revision of present 50-50 profit-sharing agreements with Aramco to give Saudi Arabia 56%.

Faisal, who spent several weeks in Cairo recently, was undoubtedly the source of Cairo-datelined dispatches which then appeared in the N.Y. **Times** and other papers, to the effect that Saudi Arabia was considering federation with the U.A.R. His foreign policy will almost certainly be aligned in a general way with that of the U.A.R., although outright federation is for the time being unlikely.

U.S.-NASSER DEAL? Realignment of Saudi Arabia's foreign policy with that of Egypt and Syria would mean an important shift in the balance of forces in the Middle East. With the removal of the U.S. "anchor," the one and only success of the Eisenhower Doctrine—the Jordan coup—looks more ephemeral than ever. King Hussein's precarious grip on his throne, with Saudi military support vanishing, is weakened anew. He can expect little help from Iraq whose "strong man," Nuri as Said, has recently resumed power in an obvious effort to counter the mounting storm of pro-Nasser—that is, anti-imperialist nationalist—sentiment in his own country. In Lebanon, the appeal of the U.A.R. has raised public feeling to what Western observers call "a dangerous pitch"—at a time when the thoroughly unpopular President Chamoun is trying to amend the constitution to permit himself a second term in office.

So complete is the debacle of U.S. policy in the Arab East that Western sources in Beirut, trying to find a rift in the clouds, now suggest that a U.S.-Nasser deal is in the making. Such reports feed on the obvious efforts by Nasser, since formation of the U.A.R., to limit the influence of the more democratic elements in Syria. These efforts include:

- Transfer of former Syrian Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Bizri, to Peking. Gen. Bizri, able and popular, is considered by Syrians to be a "second Col. Maliki." Col. Adnan Maliki, Syria's great national hero, was assassinated in 1955.
- Failure to give Khaled El Azm, leading representative of the Syrian national bourgeoisie, a place in the U.A.R. government. El Azm, the biggest landholder and industrialist in Syria, negotiated the economic agreements with the U.S.S.R., and holds advanced views on the course to be taken by Syrian national development.
- Banning of the Communist Party, along with other parties in Syria. So far, however, the Communists have refused to disband; the Communist paper, **Al Noor,** with the largest circulation of any in Syria, is still being published. A recent statement attributed to the Syrian Communists hails the U.A.R. as "a power against imperialist plots and schemes" but protests "measures which tend to lessen the democratic freedoms of the Syrian people as well as their ability to serve peace in the international field."

Announcement that Nasser's long postponed visit to Moscow will take place in the near future shows clearly that Nasser has no intention of abandoning his policy of neutrality. If he is now seeking to re-establish good relations with the U.S. and even to apply for U.S. economic aid—on his terms—this reflects no change in his policy. But, even at a time like this, when Secy. Dulles has started to make vague references to the possibility of U.S. tolerance of certain neutrals (lest they "fall deeper into Soviet arms"), a belated acceptance of Nasser by the U.S. would be an embarrassing about-face by U.S. policy-makers.

UAW LEADER TO RUN AS DEMOCRAT

Stellato files for Congress

Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

THE RECESSION is producing changes in political attitudes here as well as in living standards and buying habits. So far, according to the polls, the Democrats are benefitting strongly, but hard times are producing ferment inside and around the Democratic Party, particularly among those who want a bigger labor share in the Democratic-labor coalition.

Chief local example is the decision of Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600 of the UAW, to enter the primary contest for the Democratic nomination for Congressman from the 16th District.

The seat is now held by Rep. John Lesinski Jr., a colorless banker who has enjoyed CIO support in the past because he takes care to "vote right" on the eight or ten bills it labels important, but who hardly ever shows any other interest in labor's needs. His reputation among Negroes is poor or worse.

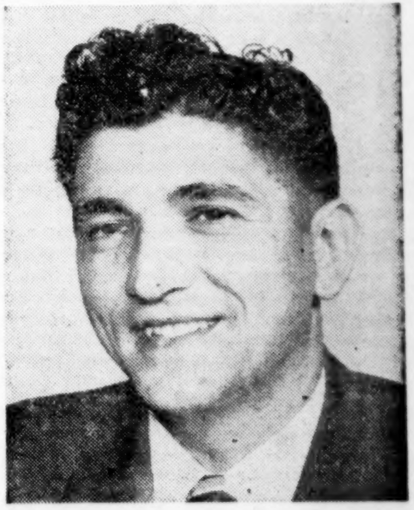
NEW TACTIC: Stellato had considered running against Lesinski in 1956, but the UAW leadership talked him out of it then by arguing that his candidacy would give ammunition to the Republican charge that labor seeks control of the Democratic Party, and thus hurt the latter.

This time Stellato did not consult with the Reuther leadership before deciding to run. After getting the approval of Local 600 through its general council and a membership meeting, he threw his hat into the ring with the announcement that the workers, who are a majority of the 16th District, have the right to be represented by one of their own, and that he would run as a workingman, a union man and a Democrat.

Stellato's candidacy has won strong support among the workers in the District. But no comment has come yet from either Reuther or the Wayne County CIO-PAC which he controls. The Stellato candidacy tends to put them on the spot. If they endorse him, they will infuriate not only Lesinski but all the other Michigan Democratic Congressmen who "vote right" in the same way and for the same reasons he does, and the conservative wing of the party. If they don't endorse Stellato, it won't sit well with the UAW ranks in his district.

MANY HURDLES: Reuther's "solution" may be to declare neutrality in the primary. It may be only a coincidence that on April 2, the day Stellato filed his petitions, Stuart Strachan, a little-known member of the UAW regional staff, announced that he was entering the primary too. But staff members rarely make such moves on their own.

Stellato's candidacy thus has many hurdles to jump. His chief assets are the strong sentiment among workers for greater labor representation in government; his record as a longtime advocate of the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay; and his record of independence—of the Reuther machine, among other things. As things stand now, his election will probably depend on how he makes use of these assets.



CARL STELLATO
Wants labor represented

HOW THE BLUES BEGAN

W. C. Handy: for the lonely and the low

By Louis E. Burnham

THE BLUES HAD TO START in Memphis. No place else would do.

Tennessee claims the town, but Memphis is really the capital of north-east Arkansas and the delta of Mississippi. It's not at all like Nashville or Chattanooga and has nothing in common with the mountain culture of the Cumberland hills. Cotton built the city, not steel as in Birmingham.

Memphis is New Orleans without the feminine charm and softening impact of Creole culture. Memphis is an up-river Natchez, but bigger and bursting with brawn.

At the turn of the century—as even today—you could go down to the river front and look through the windows where the cotton factors lovingly fondle samples of the South's white gold—long-staple cotton. You could work yourself almost to death holding back the river, piling sand bags on the levee. You could load the river boats from kin to cain't, then wish that you were on them as the big side-wheelers made their way up-country on Ol' Miss' muddy bosom. If you were black, you could work like a dog and never get treated like a man.

In Memphis, Negroes had to start the blues. Nobody else could have done it.

GET BACK, GET BACK: Nobody else, because none but the Negro had ever been so lonely and so low in a land where "if you're white, you're right; if you're brown, stick around; but if you're black, Oh brother, get back, get back, get back!"

So the blues had to start in Memphis, and Negroes had to start the blues.

After days of riding jimcrow cars, working the jobs other men were too good for, stepping off the sidewalks to let white "quality" folks pass by, taking in their wash and tending their babies, the Negro sang:

I'd rather drink muddy water, sleep
in a hollow log,
Than stay in this town, treated like
a dirty dog.

ALL HARLEM CAME OUT FOR THE 'FATHER OF THE BLUES'
In Memphis they used to say: "If trouble was money I'd be a millionaire."

After days of hunger and nights of pain, he mused:

Sitting here wondering would a
matchbox hold my clothes,
I ain't got so many, and I got so far
to go.

After days in white men's courts and nights in their jails, he cried out:

If trouble was money I'd be a mil-
lionaire.

MEMPHIS BLUES: Early in the century a youngster, son of emancipated slaves, came to Memphis from northern Alabama. His father, a minister, wanted William C. Handy to preach; he made the boy take back the first cornet he bought and trade it in for a dictionary. But to Handy music was life, and life, music. He worked in a Birmingham iron mill and heard Negroes singing on the streets, in railroad yards and in the foundries. He taught school for a while, but the marching songs of the school band was not the kind of music that welled up from the Negro's life of sorrow.

Handy joined minstrel shows, formed his own bands, and started putting down the music nobody had bothered to record before. Memphis meant music, and in 1909 he helped E. C. Crump gain a lifetime stranglehold on the mayoralty of Memphis by writing his campaign tune—the **Memphis Blues.**

Memphis meant movement, too—sometimes down to Clarksdale, Natchez and New Orleans; better still, up the river past the little Missouri and Illinois towns to the city of St. Loo. And as they traveled—the lonely men and left-alone women, the roustabouts and artisans going where the dollar was—they took their songs with them. W. C. Handy made the journey, too, and in 1914 wrote a song about a woman, or many women, he had met:

St. Louis woman with her diamon'
rings
Pulls that man around by her apron
strings
'Twant for powder and for store-
bought hair
The man I love would not gone
nowhere.

STEP RIGHT UP: The St. Louis Blues put new life into American popular music. So did the other blues that Handy wrote, including the **Yellow Dog Blues, Harlem Blues, Beale Street Blues, Mississippi Blues** and almost 60 others. Tin Pan Alley tried to imitate him, but it couldn't. The composers hadn't been Negroes in Memphis. As one critic put it, "in the blues by Tin Pan Alley composers the grief is feigned, but in genuine Negro blues the gayety is feigned."

W. C. Handy died March 28 at 84. At his funeral a minister said: "He captured the heart throbs of forlorn and stricken people and set them to music." The mayor of Memphis offered a little piece of land—Handy Memorial Park—as his final resting place, but Mrs. Handy said thank you, no. Harlem's streets were jammed with 150,000 admirers who know what the blues really mean.

Maybe somewhere, just about now, there's a little welcoming committee getting ready to greet the Father of the Blues. Ma Rainey would be chairman and right beside her would be the fabulous Smiths—Mamie, Bessie and Clara; there'd be a place for Lonnie Johnson, Peetie Wheatstraw, Hound Head Henry and Huddie Ledbetter.

Ma would speak for them all and say, "Step right up, Mr. Handy. Just like you said in your hymn, 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.' So give St. Pete a howdy-do. Raise that golden trumpet and show Ol' Gabriel how to blow a flatted fifth. Then take a little walk around —**anywhere you please**—and see what there is to see."

BOOKS

Camus' bright journey to a dead end

WHILE THE ALGERIANS fight desperately for freedom, and French colonials prove again that colonialism can make savages and torturers of any people, the best-known writer born and bred in Algeria has remained strangely quiet.

It is all the more odd because Albert Camus is deeply compassionate. He has written eloquently of personal goodness and humanitarianism. Even when his reason drives him to the most despairing descriptions of the absurdity of life he has pleaded for personal decency, although he cannot see much reason or hope in such a plea.

When his silence embarrassed his friends among French progressives, they forced him to speak out some months ago. He did so cryptically, acknowledging the horrors of the Algerian war and the justice of the Algerian cause but expressing a concern for the French in Algeria among whom he grew up. Camus said: "I love justice but I would defend my mother against justice." He disappointed his admirers, for in that neatly constructed sentence he expressed only his own dilemma, his own dead end.

CAMUS IS OBSESSED by the realization that innocent blood is always shed even in the noblest of causes, that the fight for liberty, itself, imposes a certain tyranny. Thus hog-tied by his own brand of humanitarianism, he stands aside while his countrymen torture, maim and massacre the Arabs of his native Algeria.

Camus' latest work, **Exile and the Kingdom***, sums up the various dilemmas which plague him. These are called short stories, though in fact they are essays cast in a dramatic form. Each expresses an idea and the characters in each live only as symbols or vehicles for the idea. They do not survive in the reader's mind after the point of the story has been made.

ALBERT CAMUS
Dilemmas by the dozen

But they do serve to make Camus' point sharply and beautifully and each seems an aspect of Camus taking part in the internal debate he has with himself. Readers who share Camus' sensitivity and his confusion will follow the debate in a personal way. Others will see in these stories a fascinating exercise of a fascinating man. Few will be completely immune to the color and vividness of Camus' language even when his ideas seem foreign.

EVEN THE SETTINGS in these stories do not seem to be painted by a man at home in his homeland. The stories—most of them set in Algeria—convey the heat by day, the cold by night, the dust and the grandeur of the Algerian landscape. But it has an exotic, unreal quality as if the author had invented the setting for an imaginative exercise.

The most significant of these stories is a spine-chilling macabre tale called **The Renegade.** It describes a missionary who seeks to bring Christian love to a fetish-worshipping city locked in a desert of salt, practising a way of life based on power and hate. The missionary is captured, tortured almost to death, degraded and finally converted to the fetish of power.

"I surrendered to him and approved his maleficent order, I adored in him the evil principle of the world . . . I had been misled, solely the reign of malice was devoid of defects, I had been misled, truth is square, heavy, thick, it does not admit distinctions, good is an idle dream, an intention constantly postponed and pursued with exhausting effort, a limit never reached, its reign impossible."

Yet in dying, the missionary seeks to begin all over again the "exhausting effort" to be on the side of the good. As in most cases, Camus ends on the side of the angels though he doubts that even angels operate with unmixed motives.

NOT ALL OF CAMUS' soul-searching is so solemn. **The Artist At Work** is a brighter satiric piece built for a pun in its tag line. It tells of an artist who requires people and life for his work but for whom success brings only the ruinous distraction of too many people and too many hangers-on, so that he is driven out of one room after another in his apartment. He ends by secluding himself on a shelf in his own home and his last work is a canvas with only these words written on it: "Solitary or solidary." Solidarity would have made a clearer translation though a poorer play on words. Still, the joke comes through, the problem is real and, as for all of Camus' problems, there seems no solution.

In these tales, as in all of Camus, there is such tender compassion and such brilliant craftsmanship that the reader is left dismayed to think that all of Camus' talent goes to explore himself while others fight for freedom, however imperfectly.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

* *EXILE AND THE KINGDOM, by Albert Camus, translated by Justin O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 501 Madison Av., N.Y. 213 pp. $3.50.*

Peace Walkers

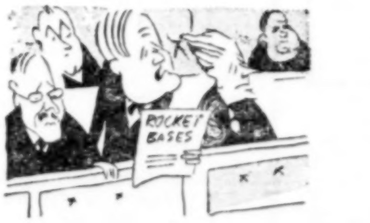
(Continued from Page 1)

were prepared to walk by themselves, patterning their action after Gandhi's long walks in India which drew thousands to his campaign of passive resistance. He said the organizers never dreamed they would be 700-strong when they reached the UN.

THEY KEPT GOING: Not all of the 700 who walked across town to the UN building had come all the way from New Haven or Philadelphia. Seventy started out from New Haven on Saturday morning, March 30, and 75 from Philadelphia. Some meant only to walk to the edge of the city but kept on going for a day or two until they had to get back to school or work. At each town others would join the walk for anything from an hour to a day. Though only 18 walked all the way from Philadelphia, 20 from New Haven and four from Westbury, L.I., hundreds of others participated along the route and in New York hundreds more turned out to join the procession on the sidewalks.

The only hostility the walkers encountered was a few random cries of "Communist" from passing motorists on the highway and one solitary carload of men in New York. Driving a car decked with signs calling themselves "Hungarian Freedom Fighters," the men drove along the line of march, shouting their own slogan: "Continue the tests."

SOUP AND CANDY: Along the road the walkers were cheered in most places. One marcher told of children who came out in one town and handed the demonstrators leaflets saying: "Thank you for walking for us." In many places fire houses were opened up to serve them lunch and provide a resting-spot. The postmistress in Franklin Park, N. J., hurried into the firehouse while the group was lunching to say she had a gift: a can of soup and a package of hard candy for each. A motel manager, desperate to make some gesture of support, loaded every walker with lifesavers.



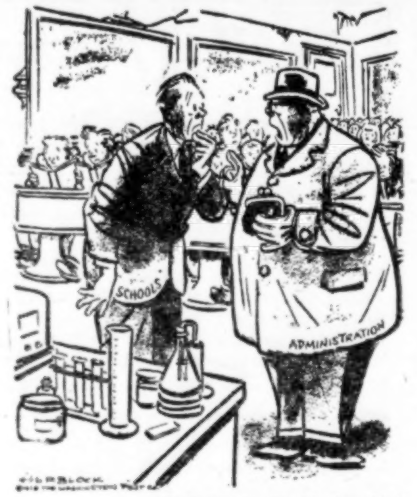
Eccles in London Daily Worker

"They're still on the secret list—all we can tell you is how much you'll be paying for them!"

In one town a tough-looking gang of teen-agers heckled the walkers. Police moved quickly to disperse them but the walkers protested that the boys had a right to free speech, too. Police warned the walkers that the boys were out to make trouble. The walkers insisted on inviting them to a gathering in a house in town that night. The boys failed to show up but at 10 p.m. their leader telephoned to say that the police, seeking to protect the peacewalkers, had warned them not to come near the house or they'd be arrested. A delegation went to talk with the boys at a restaurant nearby.

The demonstrators walked an average of 15 miles a day, sometimes as much as 19 miles. A truck carried baggage, literature and petitions. They had one day of steady driving rain but they walked on. On most days they picnicked along the road, ate supper in churches, spent the nights in YMCA's or YMHA's.

OLDEST AND YOUNGEST: The oldest walker who went all the way from New Haven was Florence Luscomb, 72, of Cambridge, Mass., who learned to campaign from town to town in the fight for the women's vote in 1915. In those days she and her fellow suffragettes hung their placards everywhere—even on the side of an elephant in a circus parade. She saw in this walk and in the youth of her fellow walkers signs of a new revival of audacious campaigning for the most crucial cause of all.



Herblock in Washington Post

"What I really want is a few jars of instant science."

The youngest walker was 10-year-old Joe Horton, who walked from Trevose, outside of Philadelphia. He said proudly: "No blisters."

Typical of the high-school boys and girls who made up much of the procession was Dave Hartsough, 17, of Westtown, Pa., an earnest young man with a shock of blond hair over his forehead, wearing a bright sweater as if he were off to a football game. He said:

"Deep concern for peace took the place of tiredness on the Walk. Some of us are fasting now—a 24-hour fast to do penance for our country's dropping the first atomic bomb and now continuing to manufacture them. We feel it's partly our responsibility."

RECEPTIONS CONTRASTED: Among the marchers were students from Cornell, Wesleyan, Yale, Harvard, Columbia, New York City College, Hunter, Temple, Boston U., Dartmouth and Catholic U. of Washington, D.C. A delegation headed by A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation handed petitions calling for an end to the manufacture and testing of weapons to Charles Hogan, head of the UN's non-governmental section.

Muste told reporters that the peacewalkers had found inadequate the Soviet offer to suspend tests with the provision that they might resume them if other nations continued testing. He said they would continue to press all nations for an unconditional ban. From all sides of the conference room came shouts from youngsters of "What do we do now?" They wanted to walk, to demonstrate, to carry the campaign against war and the bomb.

For a long time progressives have been asking, where are the young people? Last week they seemed to have taken a walk—the kind of a walk that looked promising.

Policy & propaganda

(Continued from Page 1)

promotes a policy based on the results of an agonizing reappraisal of national and international affairs after Stalin's death.

The Soviet Union found it was no longer "a socialist island in a sea of capitalism;" that it was strong enough to defend itself and had powerful allies, East and West, who, despite differences in interpretation, made common cause with Moscow in their belief in socialism; that its scientists were keeping abreast of the best in the world and its industries outpacing the U.S. in their rate of development; that the peoples of the world wanted cooperation in peace and freedom with the advanced countries to raise their own standard of living.

Moscow evolved a policy of maintaining a strong defense; making its borders secure; supplying its people—who had made untold sacrifices—with more goods and services that make life enjoyable; establishing beneficial trade and cultural relations with the underdeveloped countries challenging the West to peaceful competition in all aspects of life and commerce.

NO ALTERNATIVE OFFERED: But, as Salisbury noted in the **Times**, Washington has not yet "grasped the lesson that sound propaganda can only flow from sound policy." Domestically, the U.S. has sought no alternative to a war economy to maintain prosperity, although such an economy shows signs of not being equal to the task. Internationally, Dulles still follows the policy of ringing the socialist world with military bases and shoring up anachronistic rulers and governments to preserve fabulously profitable U.S. investments abroad.

Washington's propaganda seeks to present this as a policy of preventing "Soviet aggression" and "communist subversion." But, as Walter Lippmann noted: "American propaganda is in trouble [because it] is trying to sell policies which for one reason or another are obsolete, are fictions, are profoundly unpopular."

In its extreme, this propaganda appears in fantastic contradictions. The Administration says Moscow suspended the tests unilaterally to avoid inspection; but former Presidential disarmament adviser Harold Stassen said in February that the Soviet Union was ready to accept international inspection on its soil and that U.S. task forces had actually worked out a system.

COLOSSAL CONTRADICTION: Last week Khrushchev agreed to inspection if the U.S. and Britain would stop test explosions. Columnist Marquis Childs, in fact, reported that the U.S. has worked out such a fool-proof system of inspection from outside the Soviet Union that "we know every detail of the recent series of [Soviet] nuclear tests."

The most fabulous contradiction was voiced by Dulles on April 1. He said that the Administration, aware of the forthcoming Moscow announcement, had considered beating the Soviets to the punch by "ourselves announcing a suspension of testing." The idea was given up, Dulles said, because he would not give up "our free press . . . our intelligent political opposition [and] the dedication of the American people to high principles . . . in order to get a propaganda advantage in the world."

WE CAN ALL WIN: In the **Times** (4/3) Jay Orear, professor of physics at Columbia University, said that "the present Administration is opposed to disarmament even though they claim otherwise." No amount of improved propaganda technique would help the U.S., he said, without first "reversing the fatal direction of our foreign policy." Advocating acceptance of the Soviet offer of a test-ban with inspection, he wrote:

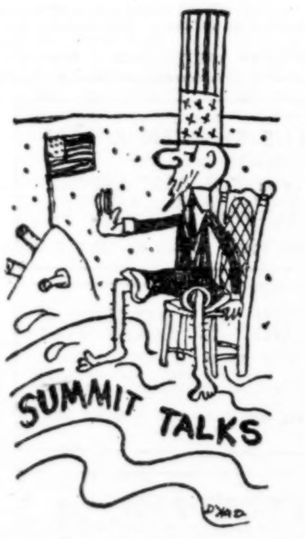
"If Russia balks, then we finally will have won the propaganda battle; if she agrees, then we all will have won something much more important."

With this sentiment the civilized world last week agreed.

That'll learn those pesky Russians to stop writing!

TWO LEADING scientists testified the other day that seven different U.S. government agencies translated the same non-secret Russian report—and then proceeded to stamp it "Secret."

The Progressive, March, 1958



Drawing by Dyad, London

"King Canute says no!"

How the world feels about the ban on the Bomb

IN THE WAKE of the Soviet announcement of its intention to suspend testing of nuclear weapons, the fight for a world-wide ban gathered steam. These were some of the fast-moving developments:

UNITED STATES: A series of law suits to halt nuclear testing was launched last week by a group of scientists, philosophers and clergymen that included Dr. Linus Pauling and Norman Thomas from the U.S., Bertrand Russell of Britain and Rev. Martin Niemoeller of Germany. One suit was filed in Federal District Court in Washington to enjoin the Atomic Energy Commission from conducting further tests. A similar suit was to be filed in London. Attorneys A. L. Wirin and Francis Heisler of California said they would try to go to Moscow to press action in Soviet courts. Surveys indicated, meanwhile, that radioactivity in the U.S. is at a peak, that New York City, for example, had experienced a 50% rise in fall-out in 1957. The AEC blamed much of the radioactivity on recent intensive Soviet tests but insisted the nation was far from "the danger point." In a letter to the N.Y. **Times**, however, a Nobel Prize winner and Director of the Institute for Muscle Research Albert Szent-Gyorgi, pointed out that no one knows where the danger point is. He also noted a "fallacy in statistics" in which a small figure like .1% rise in leukemia can mean 1,500 dead children.

WEST GERMANY: The Executive Committee of the 6,000,000-member German Trade Union Fedn. called for demonstrations against nuclear arming of Germany and said it would support workers who refused to build missile-launching ramps. Petitions to ban nuclear rearming were signed by 48,000 students in 12 universities and engineering colleges. In Hamburg 500 students marched in silence through the city carrying placards reading: "Remember Hiroshima." About 900 physicians in that city warned the government there was no defense in atomic warfare.

BRITAIN: More than one-fourth of the members of the House of Commons called on the UN to abolish weapons of mass destruction. Some 1,200 persons walked 50 miles from London to the projected missile base in Aldermaston. The **Daily Mirror,** with the world's biggest circulation, called on Prime Minister Macmillan to (1) suspend H-bomb tests; (2) ground H-bombers flying over Britain and (3) delay building missile sites until after summit talks.

INDIA: Editorials called the Soviet announcement a moral victory for the Soviet Union. U.N. Dhebar, President of the ruling Congress Party, congratulated the Soviet Union and said: "We are particularly happy that a beginning has been made." Prime Minister Nehru noted comments that the Soviet Union had timed its suspension after completing a round of tests, but he added: "A good step is a good step, whenever taken."

JAPAN: Foreign Minister Aiichiro Fujiyama told the Diet that the government welcomed the Soviet announcement and had already called on the U.S. to cancel its tests this spring. Correspondents noted that the campaign against nuclear weapons would now be directed against U.S. and Britain.

CHINA: Kuo Mo-jo, chairman of the China Peace Committee, called for world opinion to force Britain and the U.S. to follow the Soviet lead in suspending tests.

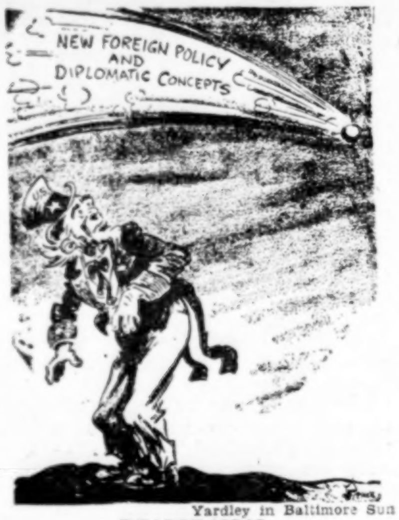
WRITE TO HARRIMAN

Veto of 3 N. Y. bills on 'subversives' urged

THE NEW YORK CITY chapter of the National Lawyers Guild has asked Governor Harriman to veto bills which would (1) extend the Security Risk Law to June 30, 1959; (2) bar 'subversives' from public housing, and (3) make membership in the Communist Party prima facie evidence of disqualification for public employment.

In a memorandum to the Governor, Frank Serri, chapter president, also urged that executive public hearings be held before final action is taken on the measures.

GUARDIAN readers are urged to write to the Governor urging a veto of the measures.


NEW FOREIGN POLICY AND DIPLOMATIC CONCEPTS

Yardley in Baltimore Sun

REAPPRAISAL

A call to the women of America

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

A GROUP OF BRITISH WOMEN headed by Dora (formerly Mrs. Bertrand) Russell is organizing a "Women's Caravan for Peace" to travel across Europe this summer. The announcement of the plan says that "women want an end to the intolerable anxieties which haunt them, and cannot wait for the politicians; we ourselves must act. We need trade and peace and a secure future for our children. Do not the mothers in all countries feel the same?"

The plan calls for travel by road "to most European countries" as far as the U.S.S.R. "and possibly China," picking up more women caravanners in the countries visited. Women of all countries who could accompany the caravan even for two or three weeks are invited to do so.

Other sponsors are Margaret Allison, Phoebe Cusden and Mabel Ridealgh of the Women's Cooperative Guild. Those interested are asked to communicate with them at 18 Manor Mansions, Belsize Grove, London NW3.

"It is dangerous to think. The thoughtless knowers will call you a red or a communist or a capitalist or some name that expresses their aversion to any mental activity. But somebody must take a chance. The monkeys did who became men, and the monkeys who didn't are still jumping around in trees making faces at us monkeys who did." —LINCOLN STEFFENS

72nd

MAY DAY CELEBRATION

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 7:30 P.M.
CARNEGIE HALL 57th St. & 7th Av.

American workers have been celebrating May Day since 1886. Since 1889 May Day has been an international labor holiday. Today people everywhere are seeking peace and security. This year's May Day celebration will reflect these desires of all people:

- Stop all atomic tests.
- Peace through a Summit Conference.
- Full equality for Negro & Puerto Rican peoples & for all minorities.
- Amnesty for all political prisoners.
- International labor solidarity.
- Fight depression with world trade, public works, shorter work day at better pay, higher unemployment insurance.

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Enclosed $...... for .... reservations in my name at $10 per person.

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60th BIRTHDAY
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Lawson lecture series in L.A. on U.S. scene

IN HIS CURRENT series of weekly Wed. eve. lectures in Los Angeles, "Decisions for Americans," author - playwright John Howard Lawson seeks to alert present-day audiences to the forces which come into play in times of economic crisis, based on his own experiences in the Depression of the '30's. His theme is "what fateful changes will occur in our patterns of life, our beliefs and activities; and are we equipped to meet the challenge?"

His previous series on American history dealt with culture as a reflection and part of economic and social forces. The new series will seek to "relate ideas, science and art to an approaching national emergency." The current series began April 9 and will continue for eight weeks. Admission is 90c a lecture, at 800 S. Plymouth Blvd.

Robeson book to be reviewed at N.Y. forum

PAUL ROBESON'S 60th birthday will be celebrated at the Sunday Forum, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av., on Sun., April 13, at 8:30 p.m. His just-published book, **Here I Stand,** will be reviewed by William L. Patterson.

Admission to all lectures is $1.

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A book of essays on a socialist U.S.

FIRST COPIES are already off the press of **Toward a Socialist America,** a compilation of essays commissioned and collected by Miss Helen Alfred for publication April 19 by Peace Publications, P.O. Box 164, Planetarium Station, New York 24, N.Y. Included are chapters by the Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, John Howard Lawson, Bertha C. Reynolds, John T. McManus, Broadus Mitchell, Carl Dreher, Herbert Aptheker, Victor Perlo, Paul M. Sweezy, George Olshausen, Reuben W. Borough, Homer Ayers, S. Foner and W. E. B. DuBois. The clothbound edition is $3.50; paperbound, $1.50.

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New York

Sun., April 13, 8:30 P.M.
PAUL ROBESON'S STORY
A review of his autobiography, "Here I Stand," in honor of Paul Robeson's 60th birthday. Autographed copies of the book.
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Mon., April 14, 8:30 P.M.
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Tues., April 15, 8:30 P.M.
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Wed., April 16, 8:30 P.M.
"Separatism & Unity in U.S." in series, "Our Country & Times"
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Thurs., April 17, 8:30 P.M.
"Pavlov & U.S. Pavlovians" in series, "Psychology & Psychiatry"
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Fri., April 11, 8 p.m.
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Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance.

PATRICK HEHIR, veteran trade unionist, witch-hunted from his job by the N.Y. Transit Authority, will speak on his case.
Friday, April 11, 8 p.m.
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- How union militants can fight witch-hunting

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THE GALLERY

RED TAPE IS A TRADITIONAL occupational hazard for government personnel, but last month it became too much for Col. A. A. Arnhym. As press aide for Air Force Lt. Gen. Tom Power he had been waiting weeks to get routine speeches cleared by the Pentagon. To give vent to his frustration and to satirize the situation, he wrote a fable in the form of a memo to his boss which eventually reached Drew Pearson.

According to the memo, he sent the following for clearance: "Old Mother Hubbard went to the cupboard to get her poor dog a bone. But when she got there, the cupboard was bare. And so her poor dog got none." In an acccompanying note he explained that since the original was published in 1760, it should be "considered compromised and known to the Soviet Government."

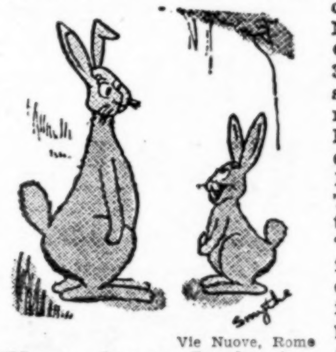
But, according to the memo, the speech was not cleared. The Dept. of Defense said: "It is obvious that said statement is a thinly veiled reference to the effects of nuclear explosions on edible foods. Particularly objectionable is the facetious use of the term 'Old Mother Hubbard.' As Mount Hubbard is located near the Alaska-Yukon border, the proposed statement could be interpreted to indicate that an atomic installation is planned at that strategically located site."

The State Dept. said: "The proposed statement reflects unfavorably upon our current economic situation and could, therefore, raise serious doubts in the minds of our allies as to our capability of meeting existing obligations for foreign aid."

Headquarters of the U. S. Air Force rejected the statement because "it reflects directly upon the war-making potential of this country." But it offered a revised version that would be acceptable. It went: "I have been authorized to announce that an elderly lady, desirous of implementing applicable regulations for the feeding of household pets, failed to contact the supermarket at the appropriate time and, as a result, experienced certain logistic deficiencies the exact nature of which is classified."

THE WIDESPREAD DEMAND to cut personal income taxes upset **Time** magazine. It said that a tax cut would "remove the sense of responsibility that goes with taxpaying." . . . . . No irresponsible citizen is John Ray. He is the Number One man of our Ground Observer Corps. He has spent 3,344 hours of watching the skies for enemy planes. He has not seen any yet, but he likes his work because it takes him outdoors. Ray is an inmate at Folsom prison in California. . . . The Inter-Fraternity Council of the U. of Chicago is sponsoring "Hello Week" in April. Everyone is expected to say "Hello" to everyone he meets. The purpose is "to promote contact between people of diverse interests and outlooks." Now, if someone would only tell Dulles. . . . Rep. Melvin Laird (R-Wis.) is concerned that Americans who refer to our earth satellites as "American Sputniks are falling for a communist propaganda technique." He points out that "members of the House Appropriations Committee in questioning witnesses are very careful not to make this mistake."

—Robert E. Light



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THE MAIL BAG

'Delinquency'—pro and con

MONTREAL, CANADA

As a sociologist, I have been much interested in your recent articles on "delinquency" in New York schools, and the current court case. Because the public is shocked and often vindictive about such matters, it is important that the reasons for this kind of problem should be understood.

Many still accept the antiquated view that the young people themselves are to blame. "Enlightened" folk see the causes in poor family conditions. But this doesn't get at the root of the problem.

Progressives know, as do the best criminologists, that the causes are even more in the nature of our society than in particular families. This view is symbolized in the title of a recent work on juvenile delinquency entitled **The Juvenile in a Delinquent Society.**

The greatest advance in expert thinking about this problem is to be found in Albert Cohen's **Delinquent Boys.** In this short and highly readable book, Cohen shows that the special, negativistic way of life of delinquent gangs grows inevitably out of the nature of our class system. Of particular relevance to the present "crisis" in New York is his demonstration that the schools themselves, as class-bound institutions, play a major role in creating delinquency.

I hope the GUARDIAN's "human interest" articles on some of the boys now on trial will not reinforce the ideas of those who regard delinquency as psychological maladjustment due to unhappy family conditions. Cohen's book would be a good antidote.

A sociologist

●

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I read the GUARDIAN's "touching" article concerning Louis Alvarez, one of the defendants in the Farmer murder trial. I would like to suggest to any person attacked by a gang of "friendless" hoodlums that he or she just wave a copy of the GUARDIAN and tell the "dear" scum how much they sympathize with the way they solve their problems and see whether they escape the Farmer boy's fate.

The GUARDIAN is a fine progressive paper and is doing itself and its readers an injustice by wasting space on a bunch of cowardly scum. Most of the defendants are Negro or Puerto Rican and I have spoken to hundreds of Negro and Puerto Rican people. Not one of them offers an excuse for the killing or suggests going soft.

Please continue your fight for civil liberties, peace and jobs and integration of schools and public places.

Al Silverstein

●

HAVERHILL, MASS.

A capitalist society is antimoral!

Juvenile delinquents are mentally squeezed into the cramped confines of alleyways and they have no interest in events or people outside of their range of personal associations.

Their social instincts need to be developed into a broader mental perspective in which the child sees himself in his relation to the rest of human society.

Morality is not a normal part of a competitive pattern of society.

When a child acquires a social instinct so that he sees himself in relation to the rest of the world, then and only then, can he acquire moral judgments and motives.

In fact without the social element, there is no "right" and "wrong." The moral decision of what is right and what is wrong appears only in relation to society. From the selfish or egotist viewpoint, there is no "right" and "wrong."

As long as a boy has little to live for and is very discontented, how can a capitalist society impart to him a moral social point of view? **Mina Lewis**

●

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.

Let me preface my thoughts by saying that I am a mother of two young children for whom I want nothing more than for them to grow up and live a full rich "normal" life.

I'm afraid the GUARIAN ran away with itself in this article. It was so sweet and sugary and dripping with "kindness" that it was more than slightly nauseating. Not once in this article did you give one word of sympathy to the family of the boy who was so brutally killed by these hoodlums, and they certainly are hoodlums. Not one word did you have for Michael Farmer who also deserved another chance and was also a kid as Louis Alvarez talks about himself.

No parent can dare accept the theory that they are just kids with unhappy backgrounds and therefore deserve another chance. When my child goes off to school—age seven—I'm terrified until I see her home again. When she has to use the bathroom in school, she must always be accompanied by someone. Is this a healthy atmosphere for any child? I'm afraid not.

How about a little more thought and objectivity in this situation? The answer does not lie in executions, nor does it lie in coating these hoodlums and gangsters with enough sugar to drown the rest of us. We just want to be able to take a walk in the street without fear—and our children are "just kids" also.

M.G.S.

●

CHICAGO, ILL.

There is a principle in law called "proximate cause." Its sense is this: If harm can be expected to follow as a secondary result of a certain course of behavior, you are legally responsible for the harm even if you were not the direct, primary agent of it.

The murder of some youngster could have been expected to follow as a secondary result of the policies and practices of the City and State of New York with regard to the thousands of their juvenile population who are non-socially-minded.

The policies and practices of the City and the State are therefore a proximate cause of the murder of young Michael Farmer, and the City and State share a legal, not merely a moral responsibility with the juvenile defendants in the trial in New York.

B.F.

●

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The jurors in the Michael Farmer case and those among us who want the chair for the accused boys should recall to their mind a few facts of the past. The boys on trial were born and grew up in a time when life was as cheap as never before, when millions of men, women and children were killed as senselessly as Michael.

Children want to compensate their inherent inferiority by imaginary strength and power over others, animals, playmates, adults. We commit the crime, instead of helping them to improve their mental powers, to encourage them to prove their superiority by becoming Superman, spy-hunters, cowboys, the trigger-happy paragons of American manhood. What can we expect when these kids grow up?

John H. Beck